

Nixon Gives Views on Communism

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

Vice President Richard M. Nixon spelled out his views yesterday on the philosophy of communism and its "meaning to Americans," in the first of a series of position papers he plans to write on basic issues.

The 30-page paper offered no program to meet the Communist "threat." The Republican presidential nominee said he will discuss a "strategy for victory" in future statements. This paper deals only with the "idea" of communism and Nixon's views on why it is entirely and forever opposed to the concept of freedom. Nixon's press secretary, Herbert G. Klein, said the statement was "basically" the work of the Vice President, the product of years of study, but said he had received some help from advisors.

Nixon called the "threat to peace and freedom presented by the militant aggressiveness of international communism . . . the major problem confronting the free world in the generation ahead."

Battle of Ideas

Most Americans "abhor" communism, said Nixon, but too few understand it. "The battle in which we are engaged is primarily one of ideas," he said. "If we are to

win a contest of ideas we must know their ideas as well as our own. Communism is a false idea, and the answer to a false idea is truth, not ignorance."

A fundamental of the Communist philosophy laid down by Karl Marx, said Nixon, is that societies inevitably pass through certain stages—from feudalism to capitalism to communism—and that each stage "generates the necessity for its successor." This is considered predestined; man can't change the course. Each stage is dominated by a particular class—aristocracy, "bourgeoisie," proletariat. Finally, in the ideal Communist society, classes disappear and no one should dominate anyone.

Reds Ban Free Trade

The Communist view of Capitalism, said Nixon, is that it is a "market economy, an economy of free trade, free selling and buying. It follows from this that since communism inevitably supplants and destroys Capitalism, it cannot be anything like a market economy. The fundamental belief of the Communist economic philosophy therefore is a negative one—that whatever the economic system of mature capitalism may turn out to be, it cannot . . . be an economy based on free trade."

One of the most "startling gaps" in the Communist theory, said Nixon, "is the lack of any clear notion of how a Communist economy would be organized." The prophets of communism left no guidance on this, said Nixon. The result in Russia, he said, has been tortured shifts and turns, starting with an abortive at-

tempt at central control of production without regard to profit and loss that threw the Soviet economy into chaos. Now Russian business is run on a profit basis "with all the paraphernalia of an advanced commercial society," he said, as close to the market principle as is possible where the government owns all instruments of production.

Obstacles to fully realizing the free market system, said Nixon, are the tension between economic efficiency and orthodox theory and the fact that the government owns all industry, preventing real competition.

Nixon said this gap in the Communist theory will "continue to create tensions, probably of mounting intensity, within and among the Communist nations. The most painful compromise that it has so far necessitated occurred when it was decided that trade between the satellite countries should be governed by the prices set on the world market. This recognized that a price cannot be meaningful unless it is set by something like a market . . ."

The Russian experience shows "it is impossible to run an advanced economy successfully without resort to some variant of the market principle," said Nixon.

Red Premise Is Wrong

A more important lesson, he said, "is that communism is utterly wrong about its most basic premise—the premise that underlies everything it has to say about economics, law, philosophy, morality and religion. Communism starts with the proposition that there are no universal truths of gen-

eral truths of human nature. According to its teachings, there is nothing one human age can say to another about the proper ordering of society. Everything depends on the stage of society and the economic class that is in power at a particular time." Communism has virtually no legal and political philosophy, said Nixon, because everything is determined by economic factors. Eventually, he said, it was to "wither away." It has adopted some of the empty forms of democracy but none of its substance, Nixon said.

"It is an astounding thing," he wrote, "that a great and powerful nation in the second half of the twentieth century should still leave its destinies to be determined by intra-party intrigue, that it should have developed no political institutions capable of giving to

as a faith remain a potent force in the world of ideas?" He suggests it is because communism provides the necessary ingredients for the true believer—the sense of belonging to a brotherhood, of moving in step with the forces of history and of being lifted above "the concerns that consume the lives of the nonbeliever."

This last aspect gives communism its "truly nightmarish quality," said Nixon. "It tells men to forget all the teachings of the ages about government, law and morality . . . There are no eternal truths . . . There is only one rule: smash the existing 'bourgeois' economic and social order and leave the rest to the spontaneous class organization of the proletariat."

Communism has nothing to offer the world but negations, said Nixon. "Russia may help a new country to develop electric power. It has nothing to say about the social institutions that will determine how that power will be utilized for the good of the whole people."

"If mankind is to survive at a level of dignity worthy of its great past," wrote Nixon, "we must help the world recapture some sense of the teachings of the great thinkers of former ages. It must come again to see that sound legal and political institutions not only express man's highest ideal of what he may become, but that they are indispensable instruments for enabling him to realize that ideal. It would be comforting to believe that the forces of history are working inevitably toward this realization . . . We can only hope that this is so. But we can know that the forces of history, struggling to realize itself on its highest plane, are working with us and that those forces need our help desperately."

Tass Calls Nixon For Red Thesis

United Press International

The man calling the Nixon "for" President headquarters asked if he could get a copy of Vice President Richard M. Nixon's paper on communism as a philosophy.

Sure, he was told, who was calling?

It was Gennadi Shchegolev of Tass, the Soviet News agency.

its people a really effective voice in their government, that it should lack any openly declared and lawful procedure by which the succession of one human life, struggling to realize itself on its highest plane, terminated. Where other nations have worked gradually toward stable political institutions guaranteeing the integrity of their governments, Russia has remained in a state of arrested development."

That state will continue, he said, until the Russian leaders "have the courage to declare openly that the legal and political philosophy of Marx, Engels and Lenin is fundamentally mistaken and must be abandoned."

Bankruptcy Assured

"Law in the Soviet Union is not conceived as a check on power," as in the United States, said Nixon. "It is openly and proudly an expression of power. In this conception surely, if anywhere, the bankruptcy of communism as a moral philosophy openly declares itself."

All the "truly imposing absurdities achieved by Communist thought," said Nixon, trace back to the "belief that nothing of universal validity can be said of human nature, that there are no principles, values or moral truths that stand above a particular age or a particular place in the evolution of society."

"This profound negation lies at the very heart of the Communist philosophy and gives to it both its motive force and its awesome capacity for destruction," he said. "It is this central negation that makes communism radically inconsistent with the ideal of human freedom."

Communist philosophy and the structure of the Soviet regime prevent the development of any sense of freedom, said Nixon, because unlike constitutional governments where the political struggle is roped off into one arena, anything can become a political question in Russia.

Why then, asked Nixon, in view of its "brutalities and absurdities," does communism

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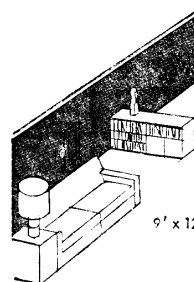
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